

PCAS 15 (2012/2013)
Critical Literature Review
(ANTA602)

***Captain Scott's Image:
Charting a Century of Change***

Lesley McTurk

Student ID: 41708030

Word count: 3320 (excluding abstract, appendix and references)

ABSTRACT

Were Scott and his Polar party “five brave men who sacrificed their lives in a great adventure”? Was this a tragedy in which

“Courage, determination, and the highest sense of duty were defeated in the worst weather of the most savage climate in the world. No men could have endured more: none ever set a nobler example of heroism and devotion.” (Du Garde Peach 1963:50)

Or was the real tragedy “that neither Scott or his men needed to die!!”:

“Unfortunately he lacked originality and lost his common sense so early in the expedition that he repeated mistake after mistake. Finally he would listen to no one and became blind to reality and in doing so killed his men. There is no doubt the blame for the disaster rests squarely on Scott’s shoulders.” (Reaney 2010:127)

The way Scott and his expedition have been portrayed over the past hundred years has changed dramatically. This critical review traces the portrayals of Scott from “hero to fool”, and reasons for the changes through to the current rehabilitation of Scott’s reputation and recognition of his long term legacy. Debates have emerged over the years resulting from these changing perceptions and different accounts taken of the cultural, political and economic contexts of Scott’s time. The rise, fall and more recent restoration of Scott’s heroic image is charted.

The period of the review spans the heroic era of exploration to the present day. It draws from selected books, diaries, reviews, journal articles, press, film and television over this period, and also recent museum exhibitions.

1. THE STORY OF SCOTT'S EXPEDITION

Captain Robert Falcon Scott and four others (Bowers, Oates, Evans and Wilson) reached the South Pole in January 1912 only to find that the Norwegian explorer Amundsen had preceded them. They died on their return journey, Evans and Oates on route and Scott, Wilson and Bowers in their tent, from starvation and exposure, eleven miles from the next supply depot. A relief party discovered their bodies in November 1912, but it was not until their ship *Terra Nova* reached New Zealand in February 1913 that the news was relayed to the world.

2. CREATION OF THE HERO FIGURE

Apsley Cherry-Gerrard was one of the relief party which found Scott, Wilson and Bowers dead in their tent. The news came as a great shock to the "sensitive pre-war world":

"We landed to find the Empire – almost the civilised world – in mourning. It was as though they had lost great friends." (Cherry-Gerrard 1937:593)

The press had played a powerful role in setting the scene for the race to both poles in the decade before their attainment. Referring to the North, "The Pole" was described in 1904 in Harper's Weekly as the "symbol of man's final physical conquest of the globe". (Riffenburgh 1993:155) In 1909 the New York Tribune laid down the challenge: "Now to Plant a Flag Upon the South Pole!" (19 September 1909:3)

Riffenburgh sees this decade as marking "the zenith of the press in determining the public's images of and beliefs about explorers and exploration". (Riffenburgh 1993:164) The genre of the explorer, confirming "heroism, romance and adventure of empire ... journeying into the blank spaces on the globe" was promoted heavily, and he asks "whether the press simply reported what was of interest to the public or whether it actually created that interest". His answer is creation. (Riffenburgh 1993:1)

In Fiennes' view "the papers told their readers how to view Scott" (Fiennes 2004:387), so there was an impressive consistency about the public interpretations of the tragedy. (Tosh 2005:849)

Riffenburgh's thesis is that Scott exemplifies hero-creation, and that the press acted as one of the necessary mediators in manipulating the myth. We can see how Scott satisfies the four key stages in the creation of a heroic myth: exotic setting, personal qualities of the individual, martyrdom and creation of icons of the myth. (Riffenburgh 1993:6-7) An illustrative headline:

"THE MOST WONDERFUL MONUMENT IN THE WORLD: CAPTAIN SCOTT'S SEPULCHRE ERECTED AMID ANTARCTIC WASTE". (The Daily Mirror 21 May 1913)

Cherry-Gerrard wrote of “our expedition ... achieving immortal renown, commemorated in august cathedrals sermons and by public statues”. (Cherry-Gerrard 1937:562). A memorial fund, the Admiralty considering Scott and his companions “killed in action”, and Scott’s widow being granted the title of Lady, all served this end. (Reaney 2010:72)

Books and stories demanded excitement and melodrama if they were to be sold, and the reading public “wanted not just great deeds, but heroes to accomplish them”. (Riffenburgh 1993:162) It was struggle and excitement, not just achievements, that were “the key to journalistic hero-creation”. (Riffenburgh 1993:164)

This also explains the focus on Scott over Amundsen in the press. Apart from not being British, Amundsen’s very efficiency of achievement was to emulate what Riffenburgh said of Nansen: it “did not allow him to fulfill all of the Anglo-American public’s desires for excitement”. (Riffenburgh 1993:143) Depending on “speed, simplicity and mobility” like his Norwegian predecessor Nansen (Huntford 1997:66), Amundsen’s exploit was described by Sir Ernest Shackleton: “you might think he had just come back from a walk in the park”. (Lecture to the Royal Geographical Society in November 2012, reported in Guardian November 1912.) Where was the story in that?

3. PRESS COVERAGE OF THE “RACE TO THE POLE”

Under the headline “The Conquest of the South Pole” the suspense of who was victor begged a sequel:

“Whether Amundsen was the first to reach the South Pole remains, of course, to be seen; no word has yet come of Captain Scott, and until we know whether he reached the Pole, and, if so, when, the question of who is the victor in the race remains uncertain.” (Manchester Guardian 9 March 1912)

In February 1913 news of Scott and the polar party reverberated in press headlines around the globe:

“ANTARCTIC DISASTER – LOSS OF CAPTAIN SCOTT AND HIS PARTY – OVERWHELMED IN A BLIZZARD – THE SOUTH POLE REACHED” (The Times 11 February 1913)

“SCOTT’S OWN STORY OF HIS TERRIBLE MARCH TO DEATH: GRAPHICALLY THE EXPLORER’S JOURNAL SHOWS DAY BY DAY HOW HOPE CHANGED TO DOUBT AND DOUBT TO THE CERTAINTY OF DOOM ;- IN ITS PAGES ONE MAY READ A TALE OF HEROISM SELDOM PARALLELED.” (New York Times 23 November 1913: SM5)

New Zealand’s newspapers reflected the London and New York styles:

“SOUTH POLE TRAGEDY – SCOTT AND PARTY PERISH – OVERWHELMED BY A BLIZZARD – HOW THE DISASTER HAPPENED – THE COMMANDER’S OWN ACCOUNT – TOUCHING FAREWELL MESSAGE” (Dominion 12

February 1913).

Provincial towns were quick to follow with

"HORRIBLE ! HORRIBLE !" (Wanganui Chronicle, 12 February 1913 and Ashburton Guardian, 11 February 1913)

"CAPTAIN AMUNDSEN HORROR STRUCK" (Grey River Argus, 12 February 1913).

Some papers even emphasised the feat of achieving the Pole itself, over the race: "Victory, then Death" (Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette, 12 February 1913) and "Success Crowned by Death". (Auckland Star 11 February 1913).

The mood of Britain at that time and the role of the press in hero-making was summed up by the Illustrated London News on 15 February 1913. [Refer Appendix]

4. THE HEROIC ERA OF EXPLORATION: CONTEXT

The initial portrayal of Scott reflects the prevailing values, culture and national mood of Edwardian Britain. The Polar tragedy came within a year of the sinking of the "unsinkable" Titanic. Emphasizing Britain's waning powers, the popular mind magnified the tragedy given the ship's maiden voyage and notable passengers. There were parallels with Scott's death, where the sensationalism of the race plus the pain, suffering and personal anguish expressed in the diaries, all added to the image. This public discourse illustrates the way a heroic reputation can be socially constructed in a particular period.

While the rigid morals and social values of the Victorian Era still prevailed, the Edwardian era of 1901-1910 saw British Imperialism waning, and the transformation of British society beginning with the adoption of new values and ideas. In particular, the general attitudes towards gender, religion and class changed, and freedom of the individual increased. The Edwardian public was eager for adventure and in the race to the pole, while Amundsen planted the flag it was Scott who captured their imagination.

Scott's image and demonstration by example was to prove useful during the First World War. Rallying calls around patriotism and nationalism reminded people that they were fighting for a greater cause than themselves: their country, its freedom and all that it held dear. The troops were to see Scott's example used for propagandist purposes by the British government, publicizing his (and Oates') death as heroic and patriotic. (Jones 2011:194)

This representation of Scott embodying virtues of patriotism, courage, endurance, self discipline and self-sacrifice was to remain entrenched for many decades.

The personal rivalries of Scott and Amundsen contributed to this image and

international rivalries at the time were merely a projection of these personal ones. (Tosh 2005:848) Indeed, so rampant was British Imperialism at the time that the Antarctic was “visualised as appropriated imperial territory”. (Dodds 2012:33) Scott was a naval officer and therefore an agent of the British Empire, and his role and duty trod an uneasy path between the different interests of the nation: a mix of scientific research, the claiming of new territory, and sensationalism – and not necessarily in that order.

The King’s response to Scott’s death demonstrates the nuanced mix. Patron of the Royal Geographical Society, he sympathised with them “in the loss to **science and discovery** through the death of these gallant explorers.” (The Times 11 February 1913:8 emphasis added) Science had a fundamental place in the culture as Britain had “built and sustained its global empire during this period”. (Larson 2011:x)

5. SCIENCE, DISCOVERY AND FUNDING

The drivers of the race to the pole were “a combination of geopolitical, imaginative and scientific ambition” (Dodds 2012:29). The dichotomy between the goals of science and discovery was a major contributor to Scott’s changing image over time.

The Sixth International Geographical Congress was held in London in 1895, and signatory countries resolved they “should do their utmost to conduct scientific exploration of the unknown region of Antarctica”. (Fiennes 2004:8) This generated a “multinational assault of separate expeditions to Antarctica” including Scott’s first 1902 *Discovery* expedition. (Bickel 1977:25)

The immense human challenge of beating Amundsen to the Pole captured the popular imagination in a way that the value of science did not. Scott was perceived as having died for the nation, not “science”. From the first the disaster was “represented in terms which contradicted the austere ideals that had been promoted by the RGS for thirty years”. (Tosh 2005:848) The press manipulated and mediated the “myth of the explorer” such that the public found the science of secondary importance to the adventure; although it validated the expeditions, and was therefore deemed necessary. (Riffenburgh 1993: 198)

For Amundsen science was an inevitable by-product, a valuable consequence of exploration. He illustrates both the interconnectedness of the pursuit of science and discovery, and at the same time his capacity to separate and prioritise these dual goals:

“The Pole ... was the main object. On this little detour science would have to look after itself; but of course I knew very well that we could not reach the Pole by the route I had determined to take without enriching to a considerable degree several branches of science.” (Amundsen quoted in Saundry 2011:2)

The reason for the public support and much of the financial backing of Scott's expedition was to attain the Pole. This explains Scott's expedition prospectus stating his principal objective: "to reach the south pole, and to secure for the British Empire the glory of this achievement". (BBC News 17 January 2012) However, elsewhere science was stated as his priority:

"...we were not out for a single business [the pole]; we were out for everything we could add to the world's store of knowledge about the Antarctic." (Cherry-Gerrard 1937:565)

Scott and Amundsen prioritised these goals differently because their contexts differed: cultural, national interests and expectations, Scott's naval duty, and personal motivations and ambitions all played their part.

6. SCOTT'S IMAGE: INTACT UNTIL THE 1950s

There was a broad consensus of Scott as a "great man" whose example inspired the nation's youth until the 1950s. (Jones 2011:202) The very reasons for this image remaining intact in part explain why it fell from grace.

The theme of sensationalist reporting continued through the 1920s and biographies and books published after Scott's death helped keep him on a national pedestal. Cherry-Gerrard's book The Worst Journey in the World published in 1922 was well received. The aftermath of the First World War was also responsible for Scott's revival. The sheer scale of suffering made it difficult to generate heroes, and the language of sacrifice was "deflected not destroyed": Scott satisfied the "real national desire for a modern hero". (Jones 2003:270) This remained in place for decades, with the film "Scott of the Antarctic" (1948) being the third most popular movie at the British box office. Schools arranged special trips for its "reassuring moral example". (Jones 2011:193)

The romantic ideal of Scott the hero was strongly promoted in children's literature for many decades. The 1915 book "Like English Gentlemen" illustrates the way Scott's story was used to promote late Victorian and Edwardian virtues of nobility, devotion to duty and self sacrifice. Oates' gallantry resulting from his willingness to "lay his life down for his friends" was extended to the entire expedition: "[h]e died as an English gentleman, -a very gallant gentleman". (Hodder-Williams 1935:26) This reflected the Edwardian values expressed in Barrie's "Peter Pan" at the turn of the century, in which every mother's hope was "'our sons will die like English gentlemen'". (Barrie 1951:154)

Children's literature played a role in promoting Scott's heroic image and maintaining it right until the 1960s. Jones argues that the change in Scott's image was due to the disappearance of such texts, and the rise of more irreverent portrayals. (Jones 2011)

Today's children read Antarctic literature such as Mahy's "The riddle of the Frozen Phantom". (Mahy 2001) Many younger children's books focus on wildlife, especially penguins. The films "March Of The Penguins" (2005) and "Happy Feet"

(2006) enjoyed worldwide success. Four generations after Scott's era, children experience Antarctic-related media and print in which Scott is absent and with very different values to those of the heroic era; nevertheless they are values of our time – conservation, climate change, and science.

7. THE TIMES THEY ARE A-CHANGIN'

From the mid 20th century, with post war changes sweeping the world, Britain began a period of self-examination and questioned the culture Scott exemplified - the "stiff-upper-lipped gentleman". Scott became an effective platform for a political critique of Edwardian society and culture. (Jones 2011:194) Changes in economic performance and the shrinking of the Empire, the influence of the Labour Party on politics, culture, and class; all these and more began Scott's slide out of fashion. Cavell makes a link between the Victorian imperialist values supposedly advocated by Thatcher's Conservative party, and left-wing attacks on Scott which exposed the lie of the heroic myth. (Cavell 2011:561)

Elsewhere in the world the Vietnam War, the American civil rights movement and the Cold War reflected changing values. With Everest conquered, the desire for new frontiers saw the moon landing - another race, this time generated by the politics of the Cold War. The social climate in Britain and the world had changing dramatically, and the questioning of authority throughout the 1960s extended to traditional heroes.

This gave rise to irreverent lampooning and comic sketches of Scott. Jones describes the effect of Peter Cooke's sketch (1959) and Monty Python's "Scott of the Sahara" (1970) as fault lines in Scott's reputation. Young adults of this generation used Oates' "I am just going outside and may be some time" for humorous effect. Stressing futility and incompetence, and also the class system, such comic skits extended to the war.

In Antarctica itself there was also a renewal of activity. Sir Edmund Hillary reached the South Pole in 1958 as part of the Trans-Antarctic Expedition led by Sir Vivien Fuchs and Hillary; the first party to overland since Scott's. The major initiative of the International Geophysical Year (1957-8) was followed by the 1959 landmark agreement of the Antarctic Treaty, a triumph of science and peace amidst the Cold War.

8. DEBUNKING THE MYTH?

These changes laid the ground for the genre of debunking literature to grow and Huntford's dual biography Scott and Amundsen (1979) was the first to "eagerly seek the feet of clay". (Fuchs 1980:272) Its forensic examination of Scott and Amundsen side by side found Scott to be seriously wanting. Critics have seen this as a devastating attack on Scott and all he was held to represent, and a "revisionist onslaught on Scott's professional reputation". (Tosh 2005:848)

Scott's reputation had already begun to fracture but this was a "blatant attack". (Jones 2011:197) Scott's character was portrayed as self-seeking, irrational, reckless and he had endangered the lives of his men. (Fuchs 1980:272) "Amundsen can do no wrong, and Scott no right". (Young 1980:9) Critics have questioned the evidence and Huntford's scholarship and interpretations; noting also his bias, devious guidance and manipulation of knowledge. (Cavell 2012, May 2006, Tosh 2005, Fiennes 2004, Fuchs 1980, Young 1980)

May's example of correcting the record and discrediting Huntford's scholarship demonstrates how an error he made has been repeated by various authors until the present. This has "done a great deal of harm to the historical legacy of the expedition" and May insists it cannot be allowed to persist in future polar scholarship. (May 2012:17)

Jones explains why Huntford's book has had the greatest impact since the 1940s, in spite of efforts to rehabilitate Scott's image. In short, it was extensively researched and well written; it challenged Scott's journals and last letters as self justification, excuses and blaming of his sub-ordinates; and it was accompanied by a legal controversy of some salaciousness. There was an additional, broader context also: Thatcher's conservative government was hostile to elites such as Scott the hero, who were seen to impede progress and efforts to reverse the nation's decline. (Jones 2011:198)

Huntford's book remains the classic of the debunking literature, and the ensuing debate served to enhance Scott's newsworthiness and profile. Debunking continues such as The Scott Disaster 1912 in which the expedition is seen as a "right royal: 'tragedy of errors'". (Reaney 2010:128)

In Scott's hero image the focus was on the manner of death and extracting meaning from it, and the signals it sent. This reframed the expedition from a failure to win a race, to one of success in demonstrating virtues. In direct contrast, the spotlight in the 1970s was trained on the "methods" Scott used in the broadest sense – resources, planning, leadership style and so on.

This led to an offshoot of the debunking genre which has more recently emerged, drawing on these interpretations of Scott and other explorers of the heroic age to create "lessons for leaders". Contrasts between Scott and Amundsen are made, and the demise of Scott's reputation enabled Shackleton to become his antithesis and "hero of our times". (Huntford 2010:309) Examples of this literature include Leading at the Edge (Perkins 2000), Shackleton's Way (Morrell and Capparell 2001) and Great by Choice (Collins 2011).

9. REBUTTALS

By the twenty first century a war was on for the soul of Scott: was he hero or villain? Can the real man be unpacked from the layers of myth? (Guardian 28 March 2012) Authors responsible for rehabilitating or repositioning Scott's

reputation and legacy include Larson (2011), Jones (2003, 2011), Crane (2006), Fiennes (2004) and Solomon (2001).

Fiennes' 2004 biography of Scott is the definitive rebuttal of Huntford and the debunking literature. Dedicated to "the families of the defamed dead", it traces the way Scott's reputation has been attacked and his achievements distorted. As with all human interpretations both Huntford and Fiennes necessarily see through a particular lens, so the truth of Fiennes' claim to give an unbiased account of the way Scott and his men made history will be more a matter of degree. He uses his own polar experience, and original journals that "yield clues but not hard evidence" to challenge Huntford. (Fiennes 2004)

Scott's reputation now lies somewhere between the extremes of Huntford and Fiennes. David Crane's biography (2006) paints a stolid figure, far from at ease with himself but doing a decent job in demanding circumstances. He absolves Scott from blame for the ultimate disaster and, drawing on Solomon, blames the debilitating, freak weather conditions. (Storey 2003:175) "They had been, quite literally, killed by the cold." (Guardian 28 March 2012)

10. LEGACY OF SCIENCE

Since 2000 the wider legacy of Scott's scientific work has increasingly been recognised. The image of Scott as it has changed over the past century has come under renewed scrutiny, reflecting current day values.

Larson argues that Antarctic exploration was "not just filled with but driven by science", especially the Terra Nova expedition. (Larson 2011) Lane, of the Scott Polar Research Institute in Cambridge, believes the expedition's aim was to do as much scientific investigation as possible, that Scott stuck with his scientific programme despite Amundsen's intent to race, and that the expedition continued their mapping and the collection of scientific and meteorological data all the way to the pole. (BBC News 17 January 2012)

Solomon's book The Coldest March (2001) brings a fresh insight and scientific perspective to understanding both Scott and the conditions of his journey. Researched using today's science and meteorological data it gives "unforseen insights into old questions". (Storey 2003)

The third International Polar Year (2007 to 2009), a collaborative, international effort researching the polar regions, engaged the public with the relevant polar research to the entire planet. Books such as Meduna's Science on Ice (2012) make modern Antarctic science more accessible, as do television documentaries.

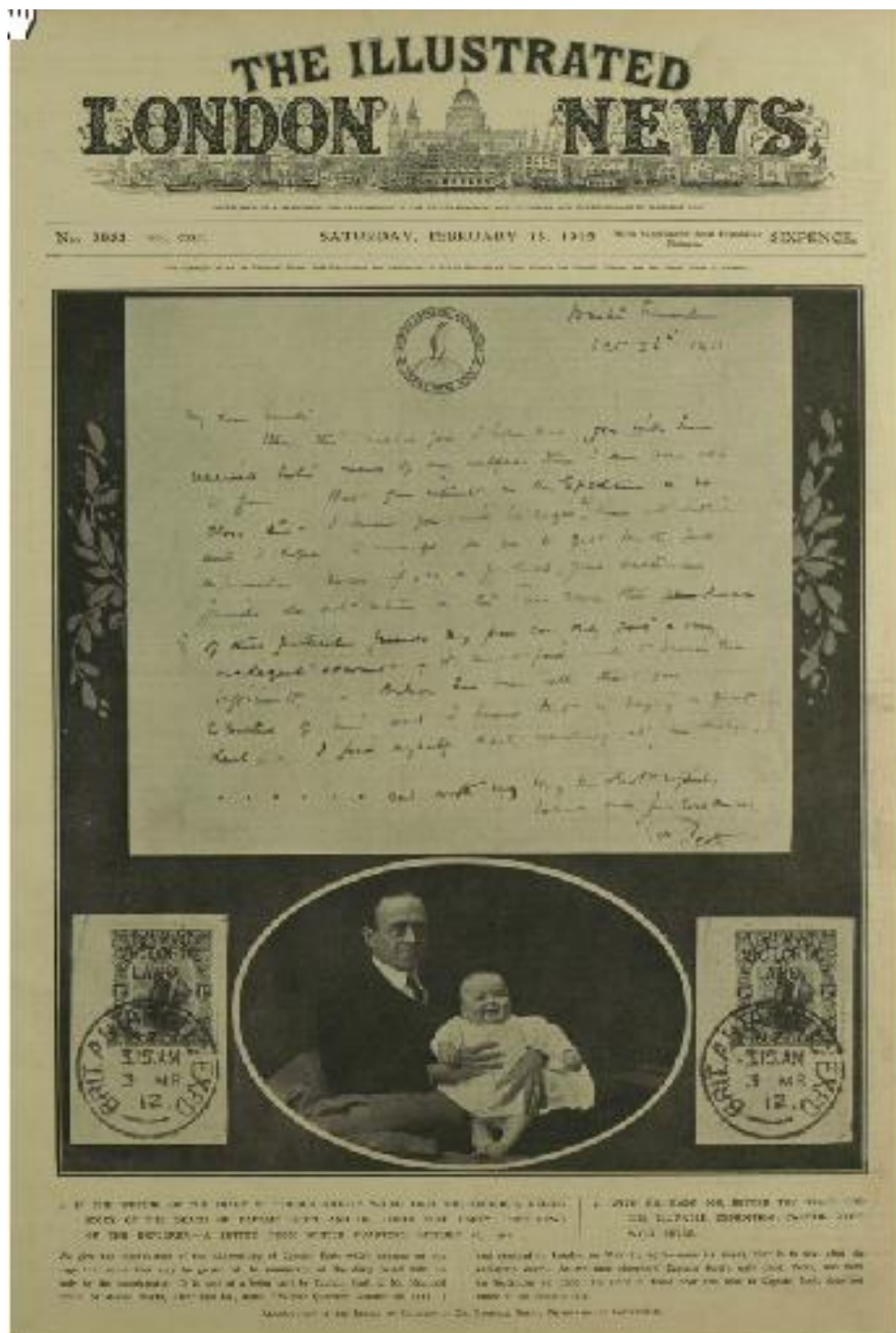
These changes in perspective and societal concerns, including climate change and globalism, provide the context for a different portrayal of Scott to emerge. At his centenary this is a more neutral one, where people are presented with the evidence and being asked to judge for themselves. The international touring exhibition "Scott's Last Expedition" (Canterbury Museum) takes the public

through the planning, science and journey to give them a complete picture. “One of the big untold stories is the expedition’s legacy for science” and the Canterbury Museum have slanted the exhibition towards the commitment to science, with partners the Natural History Museum of London and the Antarctic Heritage Trust.

“More than 40,000 specimens, including birds, dolphins and whales, were gathered, carefully documented and returned from the trip, with about 400 new to science.” (NZ Herald 24 November 2012)

Scott and his men left a lasting legacy to both science and art, despite Amundsen having the “reward of priority” (Scott’s diary). Today, the story of Scott embraces his scientific endeavours and sees his example as a “precursor of the current era in Antarctic science”. (Larson 2011:294). As this review demonstrates, it is also a story “about power and politics; culture and commerce; hubris and heroism at the end of the Earth”. (Larson 2011:xi)

APPENDIX Illustrated London News 15 February 1913



The 15 February 1913 edition of The Illustrated London News dedicated its full front page to Scott, and in its Supplement ran no less than 12 articles with many illustrations and photographs. The public interest and mood of the nation was strongly influenced by such reportage:

“The last of the greater adventures of exploration has ended in a disaster such as may always overtake those who tempt the perils of the Polar waste, however well equipped may be their enterprise. The calamity has its consolations in that it has proved once more the inherent heroism of

British men of action. Like other great deeds of the past, it will brace the moral nerve of the nation.” (Illustrated London News February 15, 1913: Issue 3952 p.2)

The frontispiece of the Illustrated London News conveyed all these themes in its montage: Scott holding his young son and his dying words, set between imperial images of stamp insignia.

From these illustrations we can see personified a hero in the making. The extract from his last diary entries appealed not only to the nation but also to the domestic side of life. This was someone everyone could identify with, the father, the family man, whose thoughts were of those back home while on patriotic duty for the nation’s good.

“For God’s sake look after our people” was Scott’s last diary entry. Not only did this resonate throughout the world, according to Stefansson (Scott’s fellow explorer); it also “brought a shock of personal grief into every home in the United Kingdom” (Cavell 2011:547) Cavell explains how this united the domestic and the national, and although the demands of duty and empire might separate families, it showed it did not destroy those bonds.

In the end, Scott himself appealed explicitly in his final diary entries to national pride. (Tosh 2005:848) Turley describes Scott’s story as a source of pride and inspiration: an example of “the heights to which human nature may rise and the magnificent response it is capable of making in the call of duty”. (Turley 1915:896). The 1913 book Scott’s Last Expedition was similarly recommended as being “the cause of just pride for every compatriot”. (Hobbs 1914:281) This is in contrast to the Norwegian perspective which focused on conquest rather than human values, and expressed by Amundsen in his book South Pole: he saw his achievement as “a victory of human mind and human strength over the dominion and powers of nature.” (Amundsen 2001:I,xxix)

REFERENCES

- Amundsen, R. (2001). The south pole; an account of the norwegian antarctic expedition in the fram, 1910-1912. (reprint, 1912).
- Amundsen, R. (2008). My life as an explorer. Chalford, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley Publ. (reprint 1927).
- Barrie, J. M. (1951) Peter pan. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Bickel, L. (1977). Mawson's will: The greatest survival story ever written. New York: Stein and Day.
- Cavell, J. (2011). Manliness in the life and posthumous reputation of robert falcon scott. Canadian Journal of History, 45(3), 537.
- Cherry-Garrard, A. (1937). The worst journey in the world: Antarctic, 1910-1913. London: Chatto & Windus. (reprint 1922).
- Collins, J. and Hanson, M.T. (2011). Great by choice: uncertainty, chaos and luck – why some thrive despite them all. New York: HarperCollins.
- Crane, D. (2006). Scott of the antarctic. London: Harper Perennial.
- Dodds, K. (2012). The Antarctic a very short introduction. Oxford: OUP
- Du Garde Peache, L. (1963). Captain scott . Loughborough, England: Wills & Hepworth.
- Fiennes, R., Sir. (2004). Captain scott. London: Coronet.
- Fuchs, V. E. (1980). Scott and amundsen: Review The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).
- Hobbs, W. H. (1914). Scott's last expedition: A review American Geographical Society.
- Hodder-Williams, J. E. (1935). Like english gentlemen. Christchurch, N.Z: Whitcombe and Tombs. (reprint 1915).
- Huntford, R. (1979). Scott and amundsen. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Huntford, R. (1997). Nansen: The explorer as hero. London: Duckworth.
- Huntford, R. (2010). Race for the south pole: the expedition diaries of scott and Amundsen London: Continuum.

Jones, M. (2003). *The last great quest: Captain scott's antarctic sacrifice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jones, M. (2011). From “Noble example” to “Potty pioneer”: Rethinking scott of the antarctic, c.1945–2011. *The Polar Journal*, 1(2), 191-206. doi: 10.1080/2154896X.2011.626623

Larson, E. J. (2011). *An empire of ice: Scott, shackleton, and the heroic age of antarctic science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mahy, M. (2001). *The riddle of the frozen phantom*. London: Collins.

May, K. (2012). Could captain scott have been saved? revisiting scott's last expedition. *Polar Record*, , 1-19.

Meduna, V. (2012). *Science on ice: Discovering the secrets of antarctica*. Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press.

Morrell, M. and Capparell, S. (2001). *Shackleton's way: Leadership lessons from the great antarctic explorer*. New York: Viking.

Perkins, D. N. T. (2000). *Leading at the edge: Leadership lessons from the extraordinary saga of shackleton's antarctic expedition*. New York: Amacom.

Reaney, R. (2010). *The Scott Disaster 1912*. Auckland, NZ: Pindar.

Riffenburgh, B. (1993). *The myth of the explorer: The press, sensationalism, and geographical discovery*. Cambridge, England: Distributed exclusively in the USA and Canada by St. Martin's Press.

Saundry, P. (2011). *Amundsen and scott at the south pole*.
www.eoearth.org/article/Amundsen_and_Scott_at_the_South_Pole

Solomon, S. (2001). *The coldest march: Scott's fatal antarctic expedition*. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press.

Storey, B. C. (2003). *The coldest march: Scott's fatal antarctic expedition*. BURNABY: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Tosh, J. (2005). *The last great quest: Captain scott's antarctic sacrifice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Turley, C. (1915). A great explorer: the voyages of captain scott. Retold from the voyage of discovery and scott's last expedition. *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2838 (May 22, 1915), 895-896.

Young, W. (1980). On the debunking of captain scott. *Quadrant*, 24(9), 20-28.